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EDITED BY SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND EGYPTOLOGY, TRINITY COLLEGE, TORONTO, ONT., CANADA

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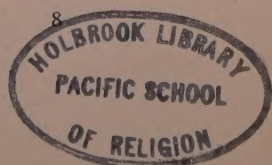
Number 2

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## THE CAPPADOCIAN TABLETS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM

By FERRIS J. STEPHENS, Culver-Stockton College

FOR many years the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania has been in possession of a collection of Cappadocian tablets which have not hitherto been accessible to scholars in published form. Since the publication in recent years of a large number of texts from Cappadocian tablets in the British Museum, the Louvre, the Yale Babylonian Collection and elsewhere, it has seemed advisable to publish also those of the University of Pennsylvania. At one time Professor SAYCE studied these tablets with a view to publishing them, but for some reason never carried out his intention. He did, however, contribute an article concerning them to the *Museum Journal* of June, 1918. Some years ago these tablets were autographed by Doctor B. B. CHARLES, who was at that time connected with the University of Pennsylvania, and by Doctor EDWARD CHIERA, then a graduate student at the same institution. These autographed texts have not hitherto been published. Doctor CHARLES very kindly loaned them to the writer for study and gave his permission to publish them. The writer took these texts to the Museum and collated them with the original tablets. While it was necessary, here and there, to make a few changes, the texts remain essentially as autographed by Doctors CHARLES and CHIERA. They are here presented with confidence that, as corrected, they represent faithful copies of the originals. While they are so fragmentary that in some cases a satisfactory translation can not be made, there will be found words, phrases and names which will help in the decipherment of the Cappadocian dialect.



## No. 19.

This text is the only known example of a law from Cappadocia. SAYCE referred to it in his article in the *Museum Journal*, June, 1918 as a law describing "the process whereby a younger son can be given the status and legal rights of the eldest." It is, however, a law providing for the manner of calling the Garum or assembly for the purpose of transacting some person's business. The kind of business meant is no doubt that reflected in the documents called in BIN IV "Affidavits." When the assembly was to be called a scribe would be notified; the scribe, however, must not call the assembly without the consent of the men of nobility of the province, the penalty for violation being the payment of ten shekels of silver. Other portions of the document are too badly broken to be read. The text, which is evidently a fragment of a longer law code, strengthens the view that the Cappadocian community was a permanent and independent state, not merely a trading colony from Assyria.

**Transliteration.** (1) ú.... (2) *a-wa-zu be.....šú-ma* (3) *šá TUR.GAL ' ba-ḫu-ri-im i-na* (4) *bu-úḫ-ri-šú-nu ' a-na dub-šar* (5) *i-ga-be-ú-ma TUR.GAL dub-šar* (6) *ú-ba-ḫa-ar ' ba-lim ' a-wi-li* (7) *rabû-ú-tim NAM.E<sup>tim</sup> wa-tum* (8) *a-wi-lim šá ŠĀG.KA.ZI a-na* (9) *dub-šar ' ú-lá i-ga-be-ma* (10) *TUR.GAL ú-lá ú-ba-ḫa-ar* (11) *šú-ma dub-šar ba-lim a-wi-li* (12) *rabû-ú-tim i be-i-ḫa-a(?) -tim* (13) *TUR.GAL ub-ta-ḫi-ir io šiqḷu kasbam* (14) *dub-šar i-šá-gal ' ma-ma-an* (15) *i-na za-ḫu-ru-tim ' a zi-ir* (16) *a-wi-lim šá ŠĀG.KA.ZI ú-lá i-ta-ḫi-ma* (17) *ma-zu-kam bit(?) ga-ri-im ú-lá* (18) *i-ta-na-lá-ak-ma ma-zu-kam (broken)* (19) *...dī-in kasbum ú ḫurazum* (20) *...dam-ga-ru-tim e-ta-wa* (21) *...im i-zi-zu-ma dī-nam* (22) *...bu-úḫ-ri-im a-wi-li* (23) *... i bu-úḫ-ri-im i-ta-ru...*

**Translation.** If it is a matter of assembling the Garum, they shall speak to a scribe concerning their assembling and the scribe shall assemble the Garum. Without the consent of the men of nobility of the province the man whose business is being transacted shall never speak to the scribe neither shall he assemble the Garum. If a scribe, without the consent of the men of nobility of the province, shall undertake to assemble the Garum ten shekels of silver the scribe shall pay. No one of the common



people shall approach the man whose business is being transacted...

Notes. Line 3, *TUR.GAL*.—This expression is regularly used in Old Babylonian to mean "the eldest son," but this meaning makes no sense here. It is an expression in Cappadocian meaning the Garum, or assembly, derived from the fact that this body was constituted of two parts, the nobility and the common people. It often occurs with the word Garum, only with *TUR* spelled out in Semitic, *za-ḫi-ir*. In two other cases (BIN IV 103:30; CCT I 49a:10), the expression is used as a synonym for Garum.<sup>1</sup>

Line 4, *bu-úh-ri-šú-nu*.—The sign read *úh* is not *uz* as indicated in the sign list published in CCT I. The Cappadocian form of *uz*, which is different from the sign in question here, may be seen in No. 22:13; BIN IV 49:22 and CCT III 2b:28. The sign is listed by BARTON<sup>2</sup> as No. 505, which he believes is a variant of No. 504a, which appears to be a variant of No. 346, which has the value *úh*. The same sign occurs in CCT III, 1:19. In the preface to the volume the author has made special mention of this passage where he finds the name *Uzbia* and says it is "clearly the same name as *Ušpia* or *Aušpia*, an early Assyrian governor already known to historians." The following appears to be a more correct rendering of the passage: (lines 18–20) *2 biltu 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> ma-na eram damqam Ga-ki-i a Du-uh-bi-a ub-lá-ku-um*, two talents, 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> minas of good copper Gaki brought to you at Duhbia. The reading of *Ga-ki-i* as a personal name is supported by TALLQVIST, *Assyrian Personal Names*, p. 79. The syllable *a* is often used in Cappadocian for *a-na*. Finally, *Du-uh-bi-a* is paralleled as the name of a city in a Hittite list of cities published in CHANTRE, *Mission en Cappadoce*, p. 46, line 16, *Tu-u-ḫu-ub-bi-ia*.

Line 7, *NAM.E<sup>tim</sup>*.—An ideogram with phonetic complement, whose phonetic writing is to be found in line 12, *be-i-ḫa-a-tim* (*piḫatim*), see BARTON No. 85.

Line 8, *ŠAG.KA.ZI*.—A Sumerian expression whose meaning is not entirely clear. The ideas are "heart, mouth, establish." It probably refers to the man who stood before the Garum and

<sup>1</sup> See STEPHENS, *Studies of the Cuneiform Tablets from Cappadocia*, CSQ, Vol. II, No. 2, Note 10.

<sup>2</sup> *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*.

spoke what was in his heart, or gave his testimony concerning a transaction, thus making an affidavit.

For so small a collection there will be found an unusual percentage of official letters and documents. Nos. 4, 6, 10, 12, 13, and 14 are letters either addressed to or written by the Garum of Ganish or of Waḥshushana. There has been some difference of opinion among those who have studied Cappadocian tablets as to whether the Garum represents a judge or an assembly. No. 14 furnishes a strong bit of evidence that the Garum is a group of men and not an individual.

#### No. 14.

(1) [a]-na Si... (2) ú ga-ri[-im...] (3) [k]i-bi-ma um-ma ga-ru-[um] (4) Wa-aḥ-šú-šá-na-ma (5) [ru]-ba-um šá Wa-aš-ḥa-ni-a (6) iš-bu-ra-am um-ma šú-ut-ma (7) ...a-am šá a-be-a (8) ...ba-at-ma me-el... (9) ...me-a-ni um-ma ni-nu... (10) [ga]-ru-um Ga-ni-iš.... (11) ...ni ni-šá-bar.....

To Si... and the Garum of... speak: thus (says) the Garum of Waḥshushana: the prince of Wašḥania wrote; thus he (spoke) ... Thus we (spoke) ... we wrote ...

The letter is evidently written by the Garum of Ganish. First he quotes the message of the prince of Wašḥania, then the reply of the writer. As is usual in Cappadocian letters these speeches are quoted in the first person. The plural pronoun in line 9 and the verb in the first person plural in line 11 indicate that the writer is not an individual. A similar case is to be found in 6: 10, a letter written by the Garum of Ganish: *dub-be šá ni-iš-me-ma*, the tablet which we heard.

#### No. 10.

The writer of No. 10, as given in lines 3-4, is *wa-bar-tum šá Šá-lá-ar-ma*. This is evidently a scribal error for *Šá-lá-du-ar*, a place name occurring rather frequently. The scribes often omitted syllables. *Wa-bar-tum* is probably an official title, not a proper name. *Ni-iš-bur-ma*, we wrote, in line 7 indicates that the title referred to a group of persons and not an individual.

#### No. 12.

LTC IV, 32 is another message addressed to the same persons as No. 12. Comparing these two texts it would seem that the



phrase *šá-ki-el-da-tim*<sup>3</sup> *ù bi-ru-tim* (12: 3-4) represents officials rather than personal names, though with the latter may be compared *Bi-ru-ru-tum*, RPN 75.

## No. 18.

**Transliteration.** (1) *Aḥ-šá-lim ki-ma* (2) *Í-li-a-lim A-lá-ḥa-am* (3) *mar I-bi-zu-a ma-aḥ-ri-ni* (4) *iz-ba-at-ma um-ma Aḥ-šá-lim-ma....* (9) *maḥar Gimil-A-nim mar Gimil-Is[ar]* (10) *maḥar A-šur-i-din mar Mu-mu-lá-nim* (11) *maḥar A-mur-A-šur mar I-ti-lim.*

**Translation.** Aḥshalim the representative of Ilialim filed suit against Alaḥum son of Ibizua before us. Thus (spoke) Aḥshalim... (Witnesses).

This text makes a contribution to our control of the Cappadocian tablets because its phrase *ma-aḥ-ri-ni iz-ba-at-ma* shows how the more usual phrase in texts of this type, *iz-ba-at-ni-a-ti-ma*, is to be translated, as the writer showed in *Studies of the Cuneiform Tablets from Cappadocia*, CSQ, Vol. II, No. 2.

## No. 17.

The text concerns a decision of the Garum of Ḥaḥum, a place not often mentioned. It is probably not the official record but a letter concerning it written by one individual to another. If it is a letter it is very informal in character, having no salutation or writer's name. There are a number of texts beginning abruptly without the customary salutation, but having the verbs in the first person as though they were letters; e.g., BIN IV, 119, 122, 164. Possibly these and the present text were furnished with envelopes on which the address and writer's name were written. Cf. BIN IV, 41, 42.

**Transliteration.** (1) *ga-ru-um Ḥa-ḥu-um* (2) *ti-nam* (3) *i-di-in-ma* (4) *Zu-na-wi-ir* (5) *me-ir A-zu [a]-šar* (6) *li-bi-šú* (7) *i-da-an Da-tê-a* (8) *ba-si-ir a-wa-t[im]*.

**Translation.** The Garum of Ḥaḥum gave a decision. Sinawir son of Azu shall pay whatever is due from him. Datia will explain the matter.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SATK 71 d.

**Notes.** Line 7, There is good evidence for *Datia* being a personal name; cf. LTC IV, 65 : 13, Gol., 3 : 3, BIN IV, 192 : 9. However, it is to be compared with *datum*, a word meaning some sort of tax, cf. SATK 71 d.

Line 8, *ba-si-ir* is from the root *pašaru* "to free, loosen."

### No. 8.

This is a typical business letter illustrating the complexity of the business and financial dealings of the community. Ishma-Ashur is a broker who is financing the trading operations of Ikib-Ili. Gimil-Ishtar is a messenger who has carried a letter from Ikib-Ili to his broker, to which this is the answer.

**Transliteration.** (1) *a-na I-kib-Ili* (2) *ki-be-ma um-ma* (3) *Iš-ma-A-šur-ma* (4) *a-na-kam Gimil-Ištar* (5) *ib-nu-a-ma um-ma* (6) *šú-ut-ma a-na kasbim* (7) *šá I-kib-Ili* (8) *ḥa-bu-lá-ku-ni* (9) *šá e-ba-si-im* (10) *ib-šá-ni ki-ma* (11) *kasbim iš-tî-it* (12) *ḥa-ra-nam i-l[u-]ku* (13) *kasab(-áb)-šú uš-ta-bu-ú* (14) *ú ki-me-li* (15) *lá ḥi-be-el-šú-um* (16) *ro ma-na kasbim šá Mar-Ma-ni-a* (17) *a-na Be-lá-aḥ-Ištar* (18) *ḥa-bu-lu(?) ro ma-na kasbim* (19) *šá [I-]a-šá-ri-im* (20) *šú-a-tî-ma ḥa-bu-lu* (21) *1 ma-na kasbim šá a-bu-šú* (22) *ḥa-bu-lá-ku-ni* (23) *tî-ir-ta-ga* (24) *li-li-kam-ma* (25) *ma-lá ga-ki-im* (26) *kasbe(-be)-ga li-bu-uš.*

**Translation.** To Ikib-Ili speak: thus (says) Ishma-Ashur: Gimil-Ishtar has appeared before me here. Thus he (spoke): for the silver which Ikib-Ili owes to you, which was for garments, for the silver he made a business journey; his (debt of) silver is completed and finished; he does not owe it. There are ten minas of silver which Mar-Mania owes to Belah-Ishtar, ten minas of silver which Ia-sharrum owes to him, one mina of silver which his father owes to you. Let your order come to me and let your silver be...

**Notes.** Line 10, *ib-šá-ni* is from the root *bašū* with the enclitic *ni*, used in relative clauses; *li-bu-uš*, line 26, is from the same root.

Line 12, *i-lu-ku* is for *i-li-ku*; for the careless spelling cf. BIN IV, 6 : 8, 10.

Line 13, *uš-ta-bu-ú* is from *apū*, III 2, "to be complete," M-A 78 a.



## No. 39.

This is a most unusual tablet; what do the long rows of upright wedges mean in lines 4, 5 and 8? In the last two cases they seem to follow numerals; could they have been inserted to fill up the line and prevent fraud as we do in writing a bank check?

## No. 45.

**Transliteration.** ... (6) *si-tî kasbim*  $4\frac{1}{3}$  *ma-na*  $7\frac{1}{2}$  [*šiqlu*]  
(7) *iš-du šá-ba-tim* (8) *a-ni-tim a zi-ib-tim* (9) *ni-el-ki-ma*.....

**Translation.** The balance of the silver,  $4\frac{1}{3}$  minas,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  shekels from this sabbath(?) for interest we received.

The word *šá-ba-tim* occurs in BIN IV 6 : 23 where it is possibly, though not so clearly as here, a word designating a certain time. The word is doubtless equivalent to the Assyrian *šabattu*.

## Abbreviations

BIN IV	<i>Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies,</i> Part IV: <i>Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia</i> , by A. T. Clay.
CBS	Catalogue Babylonian Section, Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.
CCT	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum.</i>
CSQ	Culver-Stockton Quarterly.
Gol.	W. GOLENISCHEFF, <i>Vingt-Quatre Tablettes Cappadociennes.</i>
LTC IV	<i>Musée du Louvre, Textes Cunéiformes, Tome IV: Tablettes Cappadociennes</i> , by G. Contenau.
M-A	MUSS-ARNOLT, <i>A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language.</i>
NBC	Nies Babylonian Collection.
RPN	H. RANKE, <i>Early Babylonian Personal Names.</i>
SATK	J. LEWY, <i>Studien zu den altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien.</i>
TC	G. CONTENAU, <i>Trente Tablettes Cappadociennes.</i>

## Personal Names

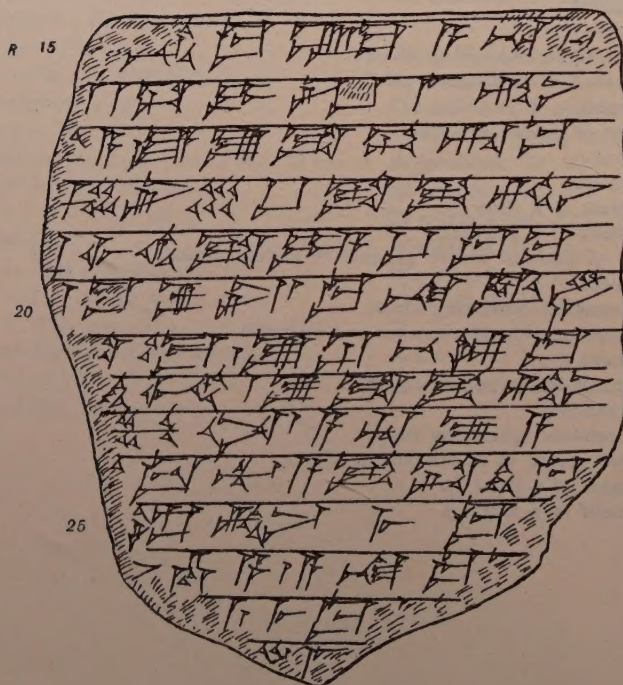
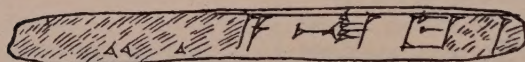
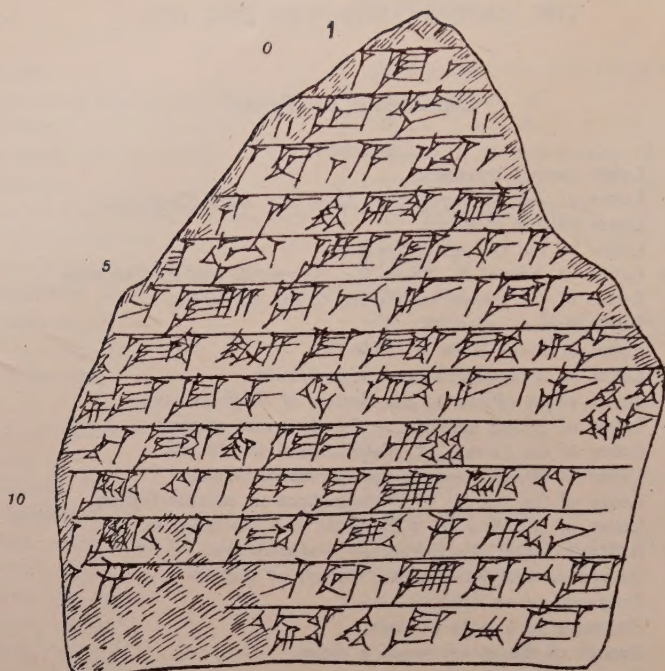
<i>A-ba-[el]</i> , 5 : 4.	<i>Am-ri-a</i> , 33 : 8.
<i>A-bi-a-a</i> , 6 : 7.	<i>A-mur-A-šur</i> ,
<i>dAd[ad-ta]-ku-ul</i> , 22 : 3.	1. s. of <i>I-ti-lim</i> , 18 : 11.
<i>A-gu-a</i> , 6 : 7.	2. 2 : 21 / 35 : 15.
<i>A-aḥ-A-šur</i> , 15 : 20.	<i>A-mur-Ištar</i> , 42 : 3, 5.
<i>Aḥ-šá-lim</i> , 18 : 1, 4.	<i>A-na-aḥ-Ī-lī</i> , 16 : 7, 9.
<i>A-ḥu-qar</i> , s. of <i>Gimil-Ištar</i> , 24 : 18.	<i>A-šir-ba-[ni]</i> , f. of <i>A-šir-ma-lik</i> , 28 : 8.
<i>A-lá-ḥa-am</i> , s. of <i>I-bi-zu-a</i> , 18 : 2.	<i>A-šir-damiq</i> , 30 : 7.
<i>A-lu-uk-ri-im</i> , 5 : 3, 5.	<i>A-šur-du-gul-dī</i> , 25 : 4, 18.
<i>A-lu-lá-a</i> , 15 : 3.	<i>A-šur-e-...</i> , 16 : 2.

- A-šur-i-din*,  
 1. s. of *Mu-mu-lá-nim*, 18:10.  
 2. 38:5.  
*A-šur-i-me-ti*, 31:5 / 41:6.  
*A-šir-ma-lik*,  
 1. s. of *A-šir-ba-[ni]*, 28:7.  
 2. 15:14 / 27:20.  
*A-šir-na-da*, 15:1 / 45:9.  
*A-šur-tak-lá-ku*, 9:2 / 23:5, 7.  
*A-šur-ṭabu*, 40:7, 10.  
*A-šir...*, f. of ..., 24:14.  
*A-ta-ta*, 30:17.  
*A-zu*,  
 1. f. of *Zu-na-wi-ir*, 17:5.  
 2. 22:4.  
*Ba-be-lá-nim*, 3:24.  
*Be-lá-aḫ-Ištar*, 8:17.  
*Be-ru-wa*, 43:5, 6, 24, 26.  
*Bu-šú-ki-in*, 35:2.  
*Buzúr-Sin*, 36:14.  
*Bu-zu-ta-a*, 22:4.  
*Dan-A-šur*, 7:5, 7.  
*Da-ti-a*, 17:7.  
*Du-ma-ḫi-ir*, 15:2.  
*E-ni-Sin* (cf. *En-na-Sin*), 25:15.  
*En-lil-ba-ni*, 35:13.  
*En-na-nim*, *En-nam-ma-nim*,  
 3:11 / 32:3, 8.  
*En-na-Sin* (cf. *E-ni-Sin*), 2:24.  
*Ga-ni-si-im*, 4:26.  
*Ga-zi-a*, 35:11.  
*Gimil-A-nim*, s. of *Gimil-Ištar*, 18:9.  
*Gimil-be-lim*, *Gimil-bi-lim*,  
 9:1 / 22:13 / 29:4.  
*Gimil-Ištar*,  
 1. f. of *A-ḫu-qar*, 24:19.  
 2. f. of *Gimil-A-nim*, 18:9.  
 3. 2:4, 5, 9 / 8:4.  
*Gimil-Ku-bi-im*, *Gimil-Ku-bu-um*,  
 21:9 / 38:4.  
*Gimil-Sin*, 24:7.  
*Hu-ra-za-nim*, 20:5, 6, 10 (?), 12.  
*I-a-šá-ri-im*, 8:19.  
*I-bi-zu...*, 10:27.  
*I-bi-zu-a*, f. of *A-lá-ḫa-am*, 18:3.  
*I-din-A-šur*, 10:27 / 21:3 / 25:2, 5, 10.  
*I-din-Ku-be-im*, 2:2, 26.  
*I-din-Sin*, 16:8, 14 / 21:3.  
*I-kib-Ili*, 8:1, 7.  
*I-ku-be-a*, 11:2.  
*I-ku-[nim]*, s. of *dŠamaš-ba-ni*, 24:1  
*Ì-lí...*, 20:11.  
*Ì-lí-a-lim*, 18:2.  
*Ì-lí-ba-ni*, 16:17 / 25:16 / 35:6.  
*Ì-lí-eš-ti-gal*, 32:10.  
*I-lu-uz-ra-ni*, 22:13.  
*I-si-im-Sin*, 30:14.  
*Iš-ma-A-šur*, 8:3.  
*I-ti-lim*, f. of *A-mur-A-šur*, 18:11.  
*Ku-da-tim*, 24:17.  
*Ku-ra-ra*, 40:4.  
*[Kúr]-ub-Ištar*, 16:17.  
*Lá-ki-bi-im*, *Lá-ki-ib*,  
 21:10 / 30:16 / 35:9 / 38:6.  
*Ma-ni-a*, f. of *Mar-Ma-ni-a*, 8:16.  
*Mar-Ku-la...*, 37:15, 21.  
*Mar-Ma-ni-a* (cf. *Ma-ni-a*), 8:16.  
*Mu-mu-lá-nim*, f. of *A-šur-i-din*, 18:10.  
*Na-áb-Sin*, 5:1, 8, 10, 13.  
*Na-na-a*, 38:9.  
*dŠamaš-ba-ni*, f. of *I-ku-[nim]*, 24:2.  
*Šarrum-Sin*, 5:2 / 12:5.  
*Šú-bu-ul-tum*, 38:8.  
*Šú-me-a-bi-a*, 30:2.  
*Ta-ri-iš-ma-tum*, 2:3.  
*Wa-li-iš-ra*, 38:10.  
*Warad-A-[šur]*, 38:3.  
*Za-ba-z[i-a]*, 16:1, 4.  
*Zi-ki-ki*, 27:18.  
*Zi-li-Iš[tar]*, 31:3.  
*Zu-na-wi-ir*, s. of *A-zu*, 17:4.

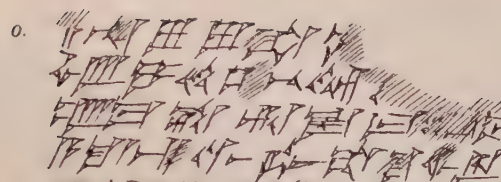
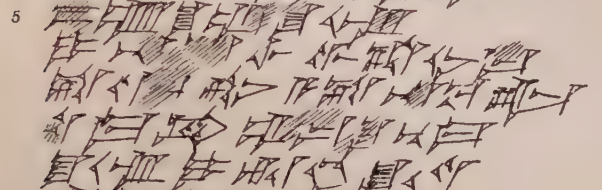
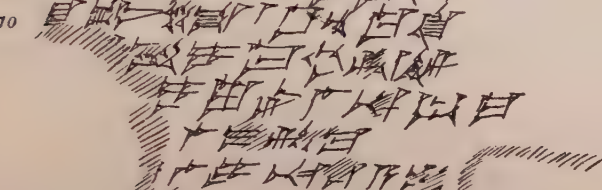
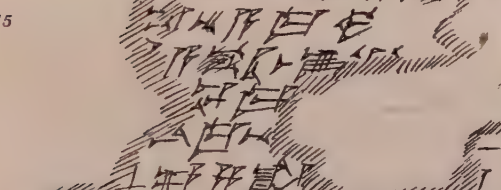
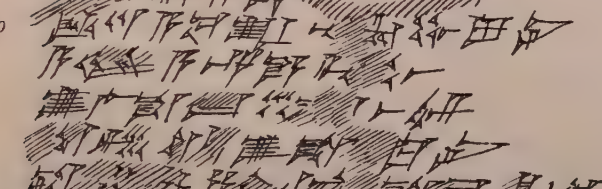
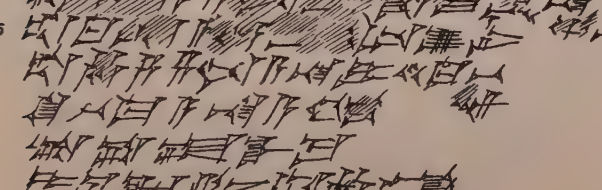
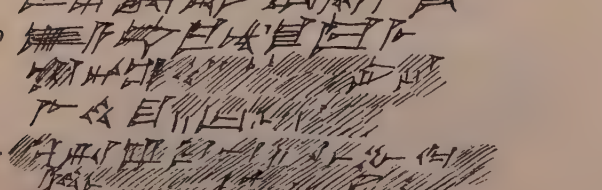
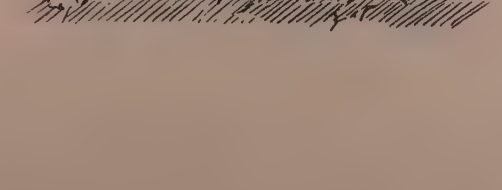



## Catalogue of Texts

No.	CBS.	Description
1	4034	Letter (names missing).
2	4059	Letter of <i>Ta-ri-iš-ma-tum</i> to <i>Lu-lu</i> and <i>I-din-Ku-be-im</i> .
3	4049	Letter (names missing).
4	4047	Letter to the Garum of Ganish.
5	4070	Letter of <i>A-ba-el</i> to <i>Na-āb-Sin</i> , <i>Šarru-Sin</i> and <i>A-lu-uk-ri-im</i> .
6	5681	Letter of the Garum of Ganish to the <i>Ru-ba-im</i> .
7	4048	Letter (names missing).
8	4031	Letter of <i>Iš-ma-A-šur</i> to <i>I-kib-Ili</i> .
9	4055	Letter of <i>A-šur-tak-lá-ku</i> to <i>Gimil-be-lim</i> .
10	4060	Letter of an official to the Garum of Waḥshushana.
11	4083	Letter of (name missing) to <i>I-ku-bi-a</i> and others.
12	4050	Letter of the Garum of Waḥshushana to officials.
13	4036	Letter of <i>Be-lim-ba-ni</i> to the Garum of Ganish.
14	5680	Letter of the Garum of Waḥshushana to another Garum.
15	5665	Letter of <i>A-lu-lá-a</i> to <i>A-šir-na-da</i> and <i>Du-ma-ḫi-ir</i> .
16	4061	Affidavit before the Garum of Waḥshushana.
17	4052	Record of a decision of the Garum of Haḫum.
18	4032	Fragment of an affidavit.
19	4051	Fragment of a code of laws.
20	4035	Record of the satisfying of a claim.
21	4044	Promissory note.
22	4069	Promissory note.
23	4071	Fragment.
24	5671	Attested record of a transaction concerning a house.
25	5673	Fragment.
26	5666	Memorandum.
27	4046	Memorandum concerning silver.
28	4064	Memorandum of accounts paid.
29	4067	Fragment.
30	4042	Record of deposit of silver.
31	5676	Fragment.
32	4068	Fragment.
33	4082	Fragment of a letter (?).
34	4056	Fragment of a letter (?).
35	4033	A list of sums of money assigned to various persons.
36	5667	Fragment.
37	4038	Memorandum concerning cloth.
38	4037	Memorandum: personal names and numerals.
39	4039	Fragment.
40	4043	Record of transaction in copper.
41	4062	Memorandum.
42	4053	Memorandum concerning copper.
43	4041	Attested record of transaction in silver.
44	4063	Fragment of a letter (?).
45	4065	Fragment of a letter (?).





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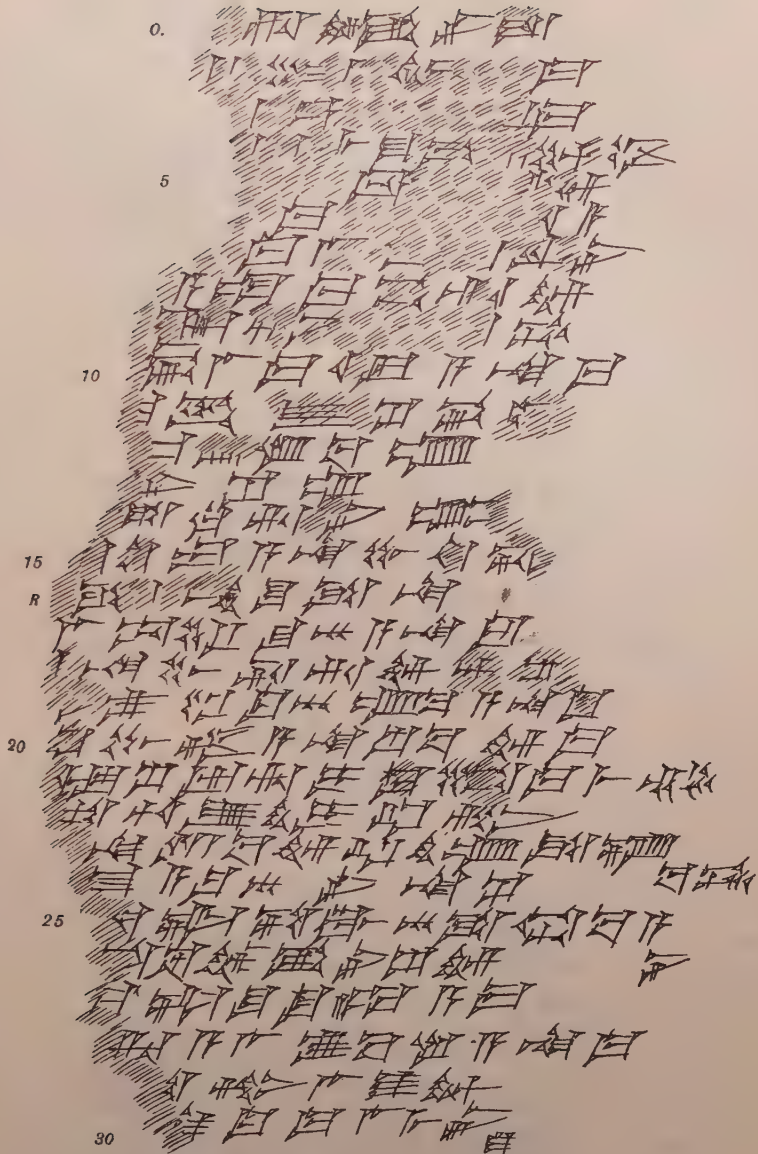
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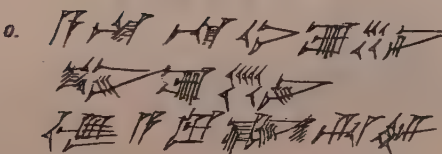
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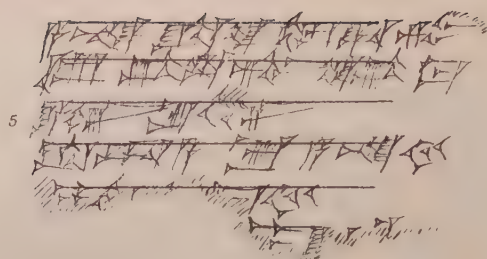
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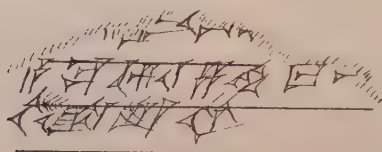
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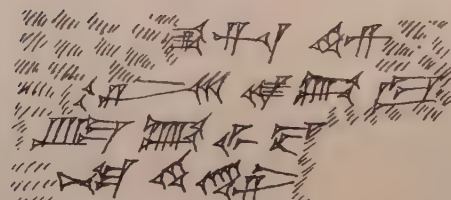
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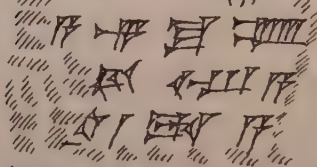


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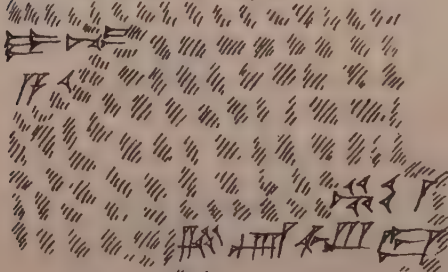


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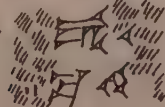


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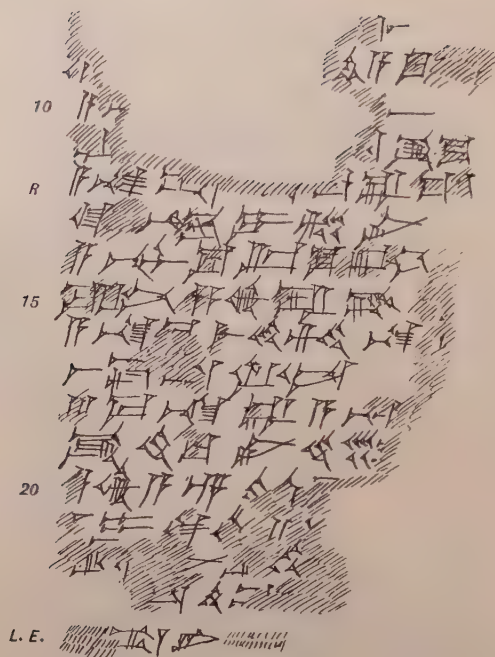
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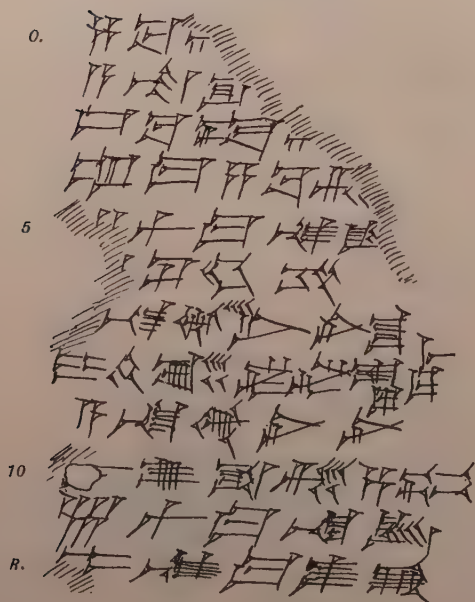
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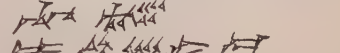
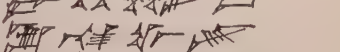


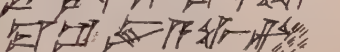



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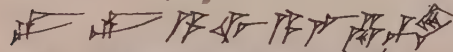
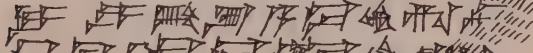



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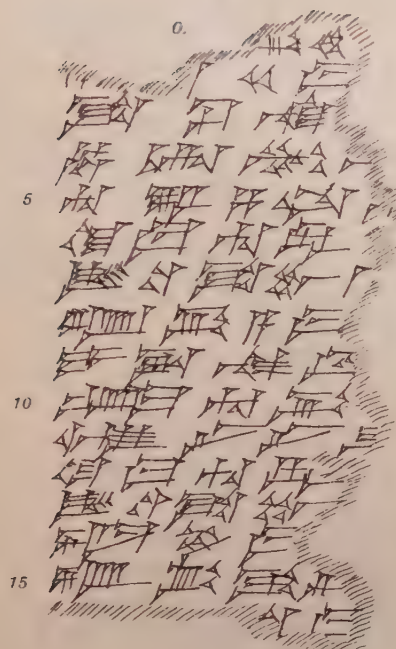
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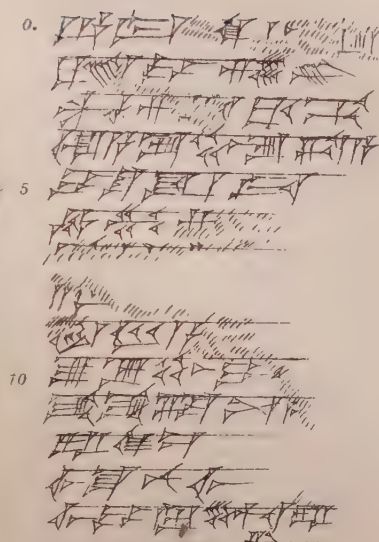




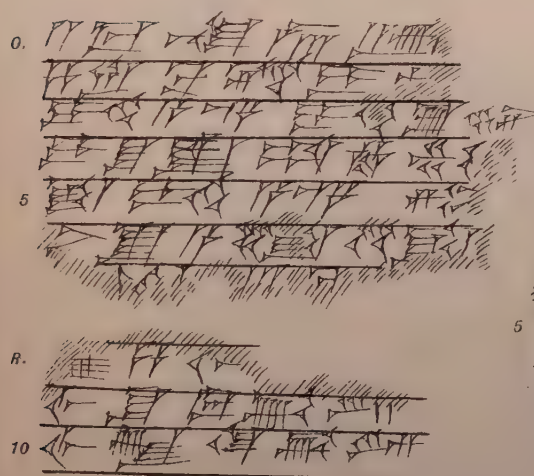
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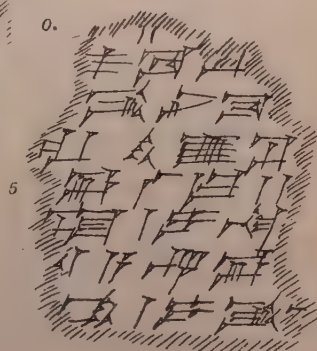
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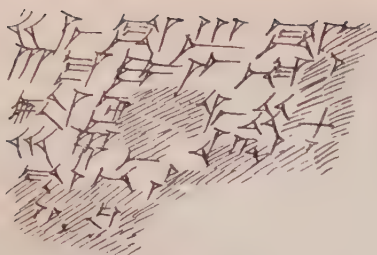








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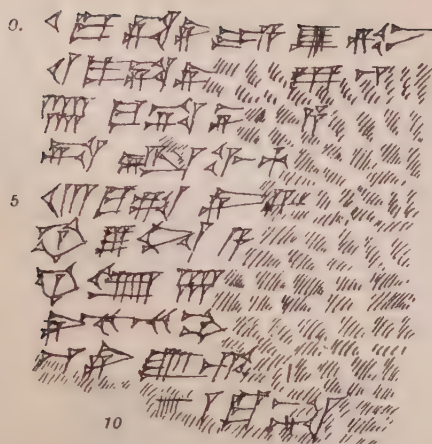
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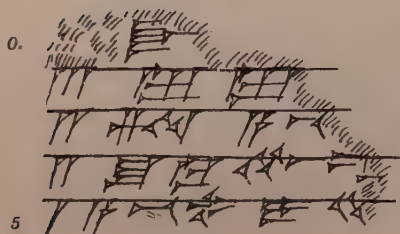
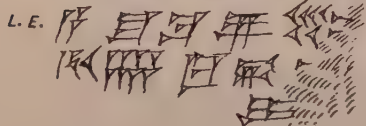
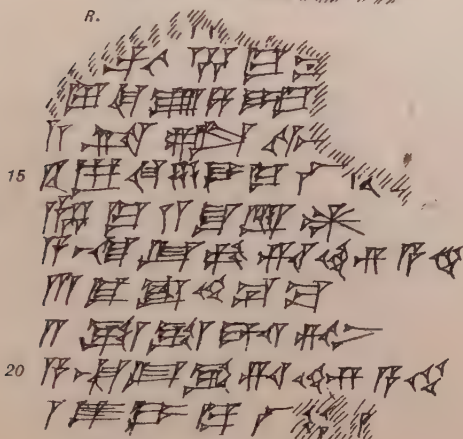
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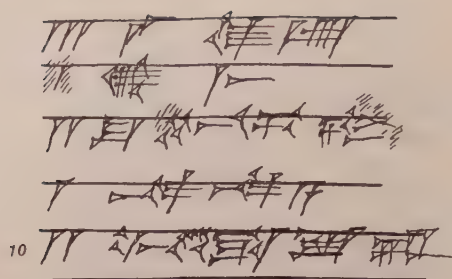
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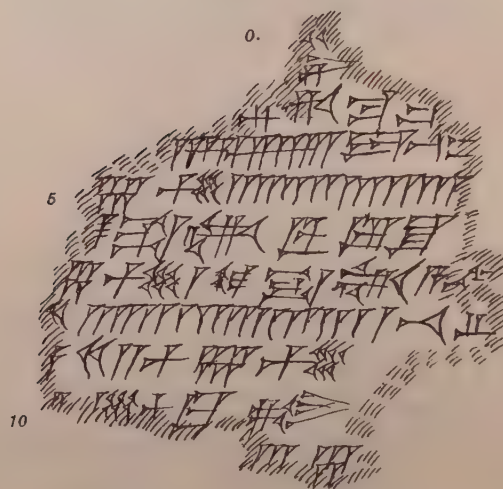
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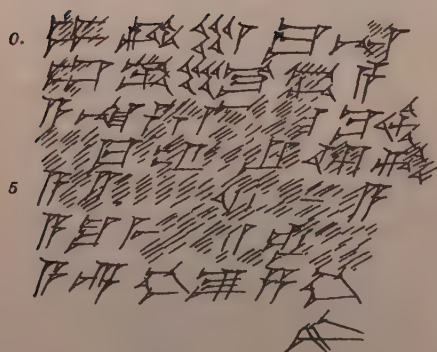




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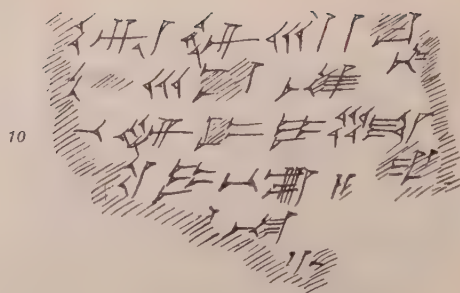
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Handwritten musical notation on a staff, featuring various notes and rests, with a circled section.

L.E.



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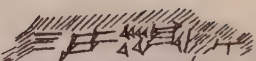
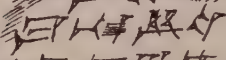
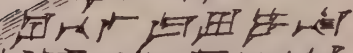

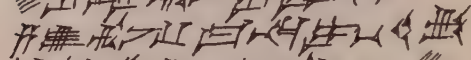
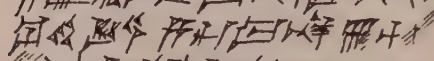
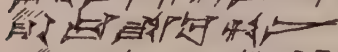
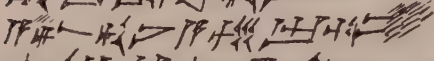
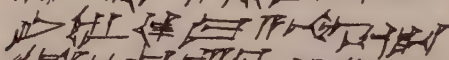
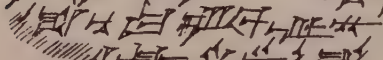
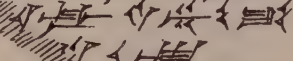
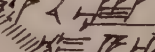
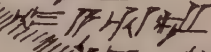
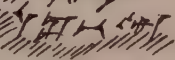
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## BABYLONIAN AND EGYPTIAN TRIADS

By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Trinity College, Toronto

As a student of Babylonian and Egyptian religion, I have been for many years interested in the idea of Triads among Egyptian and Babylonian deities. I have read everything, so far as I know, on the subject, and have given the subject a good deal of thought. But the more I considered the matter, so much the more did I doubt the *practical* reality of such an idea in ancient Egypt and Babylonia. My doubts were intensified after reading a second time DITLEF NIELSEN's *Der Dreieinige Gott*, København, 1922. NIELSEN's exaggeration nearly killed all faith I had ever had in the reality of the idea. This reaction was confirmed in me when I read DEIMEL's article in *Orientalia*, Num. 7, 1923, entitled "Die Götter-Triaden bei den Babyloniern." I thereupon began to organize what material I had collected on the subject. When doing this, I had occasion to refer to MOORE's *History of Religions*, Vol. I, 1913. I have always had the greatest respect for MOORE's great sanity. On page 172, of this work, I find him referring to this subject in the following words: "An unnecessary deal of nonsense has been written about these groups of three gods, on which the question-begging name 'Egyptian Trinities' has been bestowed. They have not even a mythological significance, much less a metaphysical." Having read these words which seemed so well to express my feelings on the subject, I decided to write this brief article. I do not pretend to be exhaustive, because I do not consider it a necessity. Indeed, the subject does not seem to me to demand it. In itself it seems to me very simple. It has been made complicated, however, by a mass of assumption, conjecture, and by much excessive imagination. I shall try to state a few facts and make a few observations, which other students may bear in mind when studying Babylonian and Egyptian religion.

At the outset, let me say that I shall avoid the use of the word "Trinity" in this article. I do so not because of any religious



scruples, but because the word has a definite and technical theological use which, we can say very positively, is not at all to be found in any Babylonian or Egyptian literature. The idea of "Three Persons in one Godhead" is entirely foreign to ancient Oriental thought. For this reason the use of the term in the study of Babylonian and Egyptian religion would be, as MOORE says, a question-begging use. It is as clear as day that there was no idea of "The Trinity," in the Christian sense of the term, in ancient Oriental thought. I shall, therefore, use the word "triad."

The first great Babylonian (originally Sumerian) triad is Anu, Enlil, and Ea. Anu, an old Sumerian deity, was head of the Babylonian pantheon, for Babylonian, as well as Egyptian priests and scholars, arranged their divine beings into groups, which we call pantheons, Anu was, par excellence, god of heaven, the word *anu* being derived from the Sumerian word *an*, meaning "heaven." His cult was at Uruk (Erech, modern Warka), and his chief temple was E-anna. His divine wife was Antu. Enlil was son of Anu. His wife was Ninlil, and he, as well as Anu, had many children. Enlil (early Ellil) was the earth-god, par excellence. His city was Nippur, where was his great temple E-kur. Ea was the water-god. His name means "house of water." His wife was Ninki, and he had many children. His sacred city was Eridu (modern Abu Sharein), and his temple was E-apsu. The first mention on record of these great male deities as a group or triad occurs in the time of Rim-Sin (Tonnagel A 23). But as early as the time of Lugálzaggisi, the cosmos seems to have been divided among Anu, Enlil, and Ea. This scholarly speculation, on the part of Babylonian theologians, accounts also for the order of the deities Anu, Enlil, Ea, and the assignment to them of the numbers, 60, 50, and 40, respectively.

On the model of the grouping Anu, Enlil, Ea, there was formed the triad Sin, Šamaš, and Ištar, another scholarly arrangement, Sin being the moon-god, Šamaš the sun-god, and Ištar the star (Venus)-goddess. But here we have one goddess. Other triads were constructed, such as Ea, Marduk, and Nusku; Ea, Marduk, and Gibil; Sin, Šamaš, and Adad.

The first great Egyptian triad is Nut, Geb, and Nu, although the most famous is Osiris, Isis, and Horus. Nut, like Anu, was

a heaven deity, but, unlike Anu, Nut was a goddess.<sup>1</sup> Nut was female counterpart of Nu; she was wife of Geb and mother of Re. She was represented as a cow, or as a human being whose arched body formed the heavens. Geb was the earth-god, par excellence. He was brother-husband of Nut, and had many children. No special city was set apart either for Nut or Geb. Nu was the Egyptian water-god. He was the great watery chaotic mass, self-created out of which came all things. Both the ocean and the Nile were identified with Nu.

The grouping of these gods is scholarly speculation, and as a triad they never played an important rôle. In fact they were very rarely worshipped, either singly or as a group. There were other Egyptian triads, such as Amon-Re, Mut, and Khonsu; Ptah, Sekhet, and Imhotep; and Sebek, Hathor, and Khonsu, but the only one which ever became popular, and which ever regularly received adoration as a group was Osiris, Isis, and Horus.

On the basis of these Babylonian and Egyptian triads, modern students of ancient religions have constructed triads, for other peoples, which are mostly artificial, so far as their *practical reality* as triads is concerned. Such constructed triads are: for Syria and Carthage, Esmun, Ba'al, and 'Astart; El, Adon, and Ba'alat; and Esmun, Ba'al Haman, and Tanit; for Rome, Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus; for the Etruscans, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, and Minerva; for the Gauls, Teutates, Taranis, and Esus (which, by the way, are never found together in any inscription); and for the British Celts, Belenos, Caswallawn, and Llûdd Llawereint.

There were triads in both Babylonia and Egypt, but there were also other groups of divine beings, such as the Ennead in Egypt, the Sevenfold gods in Babylonia, and the twin-gods in Egypt and Babylonia. But neither Ennead, the Sevenfold gods, the twin-gods, nor the triads ever played a very important part in the practical religious life of the people,<sup>2</sup> with the exception of the triad Osiris, Isis and Horus in Egypt, and this only in much later times.

<sup>1</sup> Many goddesses in ancient Egypt were identified with the sky, because *p.t.*, the word for heaven, is a feminine word.

<sup>2</sup> A good instance of the absence of these triads in the every-day practical life of the people may be seen in the fact that in the numerous Babylonian and Assyrian oaths which are extant there is not one instance of the invocation of Anu, Enlil,

On the other hand, many of the supposed triads, enumerated by NIELSEN and others, exist only in the minds of modern scholars, such, for example, as the supposed triads of the Aramaeans (NIELSEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-5), and of the South Arabians (NIELSEN, pp. 122 ff.). Other triads, such as the Hebrew triad at Elephantiné, Jahu, 'Šm-bet'el, and 'Anat-bet'el (a god and two goddesses), are purely artificial or else had no real practical reality in the religious thinking of the people.

Because in Osiris, Isis, and Horus we have a divine family, consisting of father, mother, and son, NIELSEN and others insist that triads, in Babylonian and Egyptian religion, are as a rule of the same composition. But, in reality, the relationship among the members of the Egyptian triad, Osiris, Isis, and Horus, is decidedly exceptional. For example, the divine family group in Babylonia very often consisted of a god, a goddess, and many children. But in the case of the great triads, the necessary *family* relationship is absent. Thus, in the case of Sin, Šamaš, and Ištar, Sin is *father* of Šamaš and *husband* of Ištar, and in the case of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, and of Ea, Marduk, and Nuska, we have two groups of three male deities, not at all fulfilling the required family relationship of the model, Osiris, Isis, and Horus. In fact, it is only in Egypt, where this model has been followed, and even there such model triads, although based upon the normal triad, Osiris, Isis, and Horus, never received a large place as triads in the worship of the people. Of course NIELSEN seeks to show that Anu was originally female (p. 369), but even if that could be proved he was decidedly *not* a female as a member of the triad, Anu, Enlil, and Ea. Moreover, while Sin was sometimes called the *husband* of Ištar, he was also represented as the *father* of Ištar. But *as a triad* Sin, Šamaš, and Ištar do not possess the necessary family relationship. And as to such triads as Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, among the Romans, there is no trace of a "father-mother-son" triad; nor is there any trace of such relationship in the Assyrian triad Sin, Šamaš, and Adad, or in the Elephantiné triad above referred to. The father-mother-son relationship belongs to Egyptian triads.

and Ea or of Sin, Šamaš, and Ištar as a divine triad, and hundreds of deities in varying groups were invoked. See MERCER, *The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature*, Munich, 1911.



The result we have arrived at so far is that while there were triads in Babylonian and Egyptian religious thought, they played very minor rôles in the practical religious life of the people, especially in Babylonia and also in Egypt, except in later times, and then only noticeably in the case of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. Furthermore, while the Egyptian triads, especially the later ones, on the basis of the triad, Osiris, Isis, and Horus, were of the father-mother-son type, the Babylonian triads were not at all of this type. Moreover, while it may be admitted that ideas which clustered about the Holy Family (Joseph, Mary, and Jesus) in early Christian thought may have been influenced by the father-mother-son idea in the Egyptian triad, Osiris, Isis, and Horus, yet, on the other hand, it can be definitely stated that these particular triad ideas had no influence whatever upon the formation of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.

The origin of the triad idea, whether triads arose out of the union of neighbouring cults, such as, for example, the cults of Uruk, Nippur, and Eridu, producing the triad Anu, Enlil, and Ea, or whether they arose out of the father-mother-son relationship, such as Osiris, Isis, and Horus, or out of cosmological myths, such as sin, Šamaš, and Ištar, cannot as yet be determined. Perhaps the origin must be sought entirely elsewhere, for in the case of Amon-Re, Mut, and Khonsu, the name Mut is merely an abstraction and does not represent a local cult; the father-mother-son relationship is not sufficiently early and universal to be considered the origin of the triad idea, and the cosmological argument cannot explain the composition of many triads.


Finally, it seems clear that while triads were known in both Babylonian and Egyptian religious thought, especially in the latter, their *practical reality* in the conscious religious life of the people, with the exception of the Egyptian triad, Osiris, Isis, and Horus, was negligible. Instead of being the heart and core of religious life in Babylonia and Egypt, as the Trinity is in Christianity, they were really at most with one exception mere abstractions, in the theology of the schools and apart from the realities of every-day religious life.

## PAPYRUSSTENGEL ALS GENUSSMITTEL



Von LUDWIG KEIMER, Haselünne, Germany

Unter den bisher noch nicht gedeuteten Pflanzendarstellungen begegnet uns eine sehr häufig in den Mastaba-Gräbern des alten Reichs. Es handelt sich dabei um stengelförmige, gebündelte Pflanzenteile, die sich zusammen mit Gemüse, Geflügel usw. in den Körben Gaben bringender Bauern und Bäuerinnen finden. Von diesen Pflanzenstengeln, die, wie wir sehen werden, im alten Ägypten als Volksnahrungsmittel eine wichtige Rolle gespielt haben, soll kurz die Rede sein. Die beigelegten Skizzen (*a—h*) sind mit Ausnahme von *i* sämtlich dem Grabe des Ti<sup>1</sup> entnommen, auf das ich mich der Einfachheit halber beschränke.

Die Pflanzenstengel scheinen in den Beispielen *a*, *b*, *c*, *d* und *e* am linken, bei *f* an beiden Enden abgeschnitten zu sein. Das linke Ende verjüngt sich bei *a*, *b* und *d* ein wenig, das rechte zeigt in den Fällen *a*, *b*, *d* und *e* einen rundlichen Abschluß. Dieser ist bei *a* ganz deutlich mit Wurzeln versehen, die bei *b* und *c* nur noch durch Umrißlinien schematisch angedeutet sind. An *d* und *e* fehlt jede Andeutung der Wurzeln.

Wenn auf den Denkmälern nur die Beispiele *a—f* überliefert wären, so könnte man wohl kaum die Behauptung aufstellen, es handle sich in allen Fällen um die gleiche Pflanze, beziehungsweise den gleichen Pflanzenteil. Nun sind aber auf denselben Darstellungen glücklicherweise nicht nur abgeschnittene Teile der rätselhaften Pflanze erhalten, sondern wir finden sie auch in ganzer Gestalt abgebildet (*g* und *h*). *g* und *h* sind ohne jeden Zweifel mit Dolden bekrönte Papyrusschäfte, und zwar sind bei *g* die Wurzeln angegeben, während sie bei *h* fehlen. Vergleicht man nun *g* mit *a* und *b* und *h* mit *d* und *e*, so hat man des Rätsels Lösung: *a*, *b*, *d* und *e* sind die unteren abgeschnittenen Hälften von Papyrusschäften, die in der Stilisierung fast stets die typische Form  haben,

<sup>1</sup> G. STEINDORFF, *Das Grab des Ti*. 1913. Zweiter Band der Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin-Expedition.

wie z. B. aus der Hieroglyphe , aus der Gestalt der Papyrussäule (untere Hälfte)  usw. hervorgeht. Schließlich noch ein Wort über *c* und *f*. In *c* wird man gewiß den gleichen Gegenstand wie in *a*, *b*, *d*, *e* und *f* zu erblicken haben, jedoch sei zugegeben, daß hier die Angabe der Wurzeln merkwürdig ist.<sup>2</sup> Bei *f* handelt es sich dagegen fraglos um die untere Hälfte zweier Papyrusschäfte, bei denen jedoch nicht nur die Wurzeln, sondern auch noch das rundliche Abschlußstück weggeschnitten ist. Hierfür vergleiche *i* = v. BISSING, *Die Mastaba des Gemni-kai* I, Taf. XXVI, Nr. 76 und 75. R. MUSCHLER sagt in seinen Erläuterungen zu den Pflanzendarstellungen in der Mastaba des Kagemni zu Nr. 75 ganz richtig „Stengel von *Cyperus Papyrus*“.

Da also ein Zweifel an der Richtigkeit unserer Erklärung der Pflanzenstengel *a—f* nicht bestehen kann, so erübrigt es sich, auf ältere Deutungsversuche des näheren einzugehen. Erwähnt sei nur derjenige von F. UNGER,<sup>3</sup> der an „Spargeln“ dachte, und derjenige von G. SCHWEINFURTH, der die fraglichen Darstellungen als Stengel einer Umbellifere (etwa *Ferula* oder *Thapsia*)<sup>4</sup> zu erklären versuchte.<sup>4</sup>

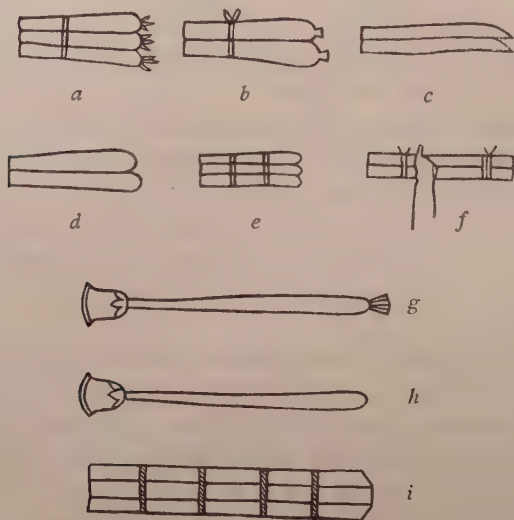
Es wurde zu Anfang bereits darauf hingewiesen, daß der jetzt als unteres Stück eines Papyrusschafes gedeutete Pflanzenteil sich auf den Denkmälern stets zusammen mit allerhand Eßwaren wie Gemüse, Früchten, Geflügel, Rinderkeulen usw. findet. Wurden also auch diese Stengel, d. h. Papyrusschäfte, von den Ägyptern gegessen? Dagegen schien mir anfänglich die Tatsache zu sprechen,

<sup>2</sup> Ganz die gleiche Form findet sich bei LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, Taf. 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Pflanzen des alten Ägyptens*. In: Sitzungsberichte der mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Klasse der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien 1859, S. 42 (108). WOENIG, *Die Pflanzen im alten Ägypten*, S. 208, schließt sich UNGERS Meinung an und rechnet den Spargel zu den „beliebtesten Gemüsen“; in Wirklichkeit ist seine Kultur für das ägyptische Altertum durch nichts zu beweisen. Außer WOENIG sind auch andere, zuletzt noch F. HARTMANN, *L'Agriculture dans l'ancienne Égypte*, S. 55, UNGER vorbehaltlos gefolgt. V. LORET, *Flore pharaonique*<sup>2</sup> 48 entscheidet sich nicht, hält aber UNGERS Auffassung für sehr wahrscheinlich. — In diesem Zusammenhange sei darauf hingewiesen, daß UNGER, LORET, WOENIG u. a. anscheinend alle stengelförmig aussehenden Dinge unter den Speisen für Spargeln gehalten haben, obwohl auf den Darstellungen des alten Reichs außer den oben besprochenen (*a—f*) auch stengelartige Pflanzenteile vorkommen, die auf andere Gewächse als Papyrus (nach UNGER etc. = Spargel) zurückgehen. Diese vorläufig noch nicht erklärten Pflanzen lasse ich hier ganz beiseite, sondern begnüge mich einstweilen mit den nunmehr sicher gedeuteten Papyrusstengeln.

<sup>4</sup> SCHWEINFURTH brieflich (11. Juli 1924).

daß, wie wir sahen, auf denselben Darstellungen gar nicht selten auch ganze Papyruspflanzen (mit Dolde und Wurzeln) unter den Speisen vorkommen (*g* und *h*, Ti Taf. 126), die wegen ihrer ornamentalen Wirkung eher den Eindruck erwecken, als seien sie nur zum Schmuck auf die Fruchtkörbe und Opfertische gelegt, ganz ebenso wie man die Speisen häufig mit Nymphäen verzierte. Aber diese Auffassung, die sich vielleicht für einen mit einer Dolde bekrönten Papyrusschaft verteidigen läßt, hat ganz sicher keine



*a* = STEINDORFF Ti Taf. 126. — *b* = STEINDORFF Ti Taf. 32, 37, 47, 62, 64, 67, 69, 90. — *c* = STEINDORFF Ti Taf. 101; LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, 70. — *d* = STEINDORFF Ti Taf. 66, 69. — *e* = STEINDORFF Ti Taf. 37; LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, 67, 68, 70. — *f* = STEINDORFF Ti Taf. 39. — *g* = STEINDORFF Ti Taf. 112, 54, 91, 96—99, 101, 102, 126 etc. — *h* = STEINDORFF Ti Taf. 54, 32, 40, 41, 43, 44, 92, 103 etc. — *i* = v. BISSING, *Gemni-kai* I, Taf. XXVI, Nr. 75 (vgl. II, S. 42).

Berechtigung für den Schaft allein oder ein Stück desselben. Also muß der Papyrus als Nahrungsmittel gedient haben. Dafür haben wir nun zum Glück die Zeugnisse der klassischen Autoren, von denen einige sogar ausdrücklich erwähnen, daß man nur den unteren Teil des Schaftes esse, eine Angabe, die also mit den Darstellungen aufs schönste übereinstimmt. Von den Klassikern weist zuerst HERODOT auf die Eßbarkeit des Papyrus hin. Er sagt II, 92: „Den



Byblos aber ziehen sie (die Ägypter), wenn er ein Jahr alt ist, aus den Sümpfen heraus,<sup>5</sup> schneiden das oberste ab und gebrauchen es zu irgend etwas anderem; das unterste aber, das noch übrigbleibt, etwa eine Elle lang, essen (und verkaufen)<sup>6</sup> sie. Diejenigen, die aber den Papyrus recht schmackhaft zubereiten wollen, rösten ihn zuvor in einer heißen Pfanne und essen ihn so.“ Die Angabe, daß das eßbare Stück etwa eine Elle lang sei (ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πᾶλιν) wird man als durch die Denkmäler bestätigt ansehen können. DIODOR berichtet I, 80: „Sie (die Ägypter) bereiten ihnen (ihren Kindern) die nächste beste einfache Speise; auch geben sie ihnen vom Papyrus den unteren Teil (πρῶτον), den man im Feuer rösten kann.“ Mit besonderem Nachdruck unterstreicht aber THEOPHRAST die Verwendung des Papyrus als Genußmittel. Im 8. Kapitel des IV. Buches seiner *Historia plantarum* berichtet er: „Der Hauptnutzen (des Papyrus) aber liegt in der Nahrung, die er gewährt. Denn alle Einwohner (von Ägypten) kauen den Papyrus (d. h. wohl die untere Hälfte), sei es roh, gekocht oder geröstet. Und den Saft schlucken sie hinunter, das Ausgekaute aber speien sie weg.“<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Die Papyrusernte gehört bekanntlich zu den Lieblingsdarstellungen in den Gräbern. Für das alte Reich vgl. KLEBS, *Reliefs des alten Reichs*, S. 100; für das mittlere Reich vgl. KLEBS, *Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reichs*, S. 134; für das neue Reich vgl. WRESZINSKI, *Atlas zur ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* I, Taf. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Verderbt.

<sup>7</sup> Zu HERODOT II, 92 und den anderen Klassikerstellen vgl. A. WIEDEMANN, *Herodoti 2. Buch*, S. 377: „Als Nahrungsmittel wurden die weichen Teile benutzt, meist kaute man sie ähnlich wie jetzt das Zuckerrohr, um den süßen Saft zu erhalten, und spuckte die hölzernen Fasern wieder aus (THEOPHR. IV, 8; PLIN. 13, 72; 15, 117), den unteren Teil röstete man und aß ihn dann (DIOD. I, 80); weiche und ganz junge Pflanzen wurden samt den Fasern verzehrt.“

## ZWEI KOPTISCHE HYMNEN FÜR DAS EPIPHANIEFEST

VON EUGEN LUDWIG RAPP, Pirmasens.

Im folgenden bringe ich die Abschrift der zwei koptischen Hymnen des Cod. Heid. Orient. 97. Die Handschrift ist musterhaft sorgfältig und schön mit schwarzer und roter Tusche gemalt; sie stammt aus dem Nachlaß von Professor AD. MERX, für den sie von einer koptischen Nonne im Kloster von Altkairo abgeschrieben wurde.

Der Text der zwei koptischen Hymnen umfaßt vier Blatt in großer Schrift, der der arabischen Übersetzung, die drei Hymnen enthält, neun Blatt. Die Handschrift ist Oktav.

Die Abteilung der einzelnen Worte und Wortkomplexe stammt von mir, desgleichen der Verbindungsstrich der Worte am Schlusse einer Zeile, die mit denen der nächsten sinngemäß verbunden sind.

Der Text bietet trotz seiner klaren Schrift an einigen Stellen gewisse Schwierigkeiten, da er von der Abschreiberin zwar sorgfältig, doch ohne jedes Verständnis kopiert ist.

دَاصُولُوجِيهٓ ٢ تَقَالُ فِي عِيدِ الْغَطَّاسِ الْمَجِيدِ ١

ΧΟΤΕΡΩΝ ΛΥΜΟΣ Ν — <sup>3</sup>

ΡΑΥΙ .|. ΟΥΟΣ ΠΕΝΛΛΑΣ

ΣΕΝΟΥΘΕΛΗΛ ÷ ΧΕ ΑΠΕΝΟC <sup>4</sup>

ΙΗC ΠΧC <sup>5</sup> ÷ ΛΥΘΙΩΜC ΣΙΤΕΝ

ΙΩΛ <sup>6</sup> .|.

<sup>1</sup> „Eine Hymne, die gesprochen wird an dem erhabenen Epiphaniensfeste.“ (‘id al ghifās, ΟΥΩΝΣ ΕΒΟΛ.)

<sup>2</sup> Kann nicht anders gelesen werden, muß aber natürlich دَاصُولُوجِيهٓ heißen: δοξολογία.

<sup>3</sup> So fälschlicherweise die Handschrift an Stelle von ΤΟΤΕ ΛΥΜΟΣ Ν-

<sup>4</sup> ΟC = ΘΟΙC.

<sup>5</sup> ΙΗC ΠΧC = ΙΗΣΟΥC ΠΧΡΙCΤΟC.

<sup>6</sup> ΙΩΛ = ΙΩΑΝΝΗC.



ΤΑΣΘΟΥ·|· ΝΧΕ ΟΥCΘΕΡ—  
 ΤΕΡ ΝΕΜΟΥ ΤΩΜΤ·|·  
 ΡΑΩΙ ΝΙΤΩΟΥ ΝΕΜΝΙΚΑΛΛΑΜ—  
 ΦΟ·|· ΠΙΛΑΩΩΗΝ ΝΕΜ—  
 ΝΙCΙ†÷ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΑΤ2Η Μ—  
 Ν2Ο ΜΠΟΥΡΟ÷ ΦΗ ΕΤΛ4—  
 ΘΑΜΙΟ ΝΝΙΝΙCΙ·|·  
 ΧΟΥΑΒ ΠΟC ΟΥΟ2 ΧΟΥΑΒ÷  
 ΧΟΥΑΒ ΙΗC ΠΧC· ΠΙΩΟΥ  
 CΕΡΩΛΥ ΝΛ4 ΝΕΜΠΕCΙΩΤ÷  
 ΝΕΜΠΙΠΝΑ<sup>8</sup> ΜΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΟC÷  
 ΕΘΒΕ ΦΛΙ ΤΕΝΟΙ ΝΡΑΜΑΟ·|·

B

linke Seite.

ΣΕΝΝΙΑΓΛΘΟΝ ΕΤΧΗΚ Ε—  
 ΒΟΛ·|· ΣΕΝΟΥΝΛ2† ΤΕΝΕΡ—  
 ΨΑΛΙΝ÷ ΕΝΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΑΛ<sup>9</sup>÷  
 ΑΛ ΑΛ÷ ΑΛ ΑΛ·|· ΙΗC ΠΧC Π—  
 ΩΗΡΙ ΜΦ†·|· ΦΗ ΕΤΛ4—  
 ΒΙΩΜC ΣΕΝΠΙΟΡΔΑΛΗC÷  
 ΦΛΙ ΕΡΕΠΙΩΟΥ ΕΡΠΙΡΕΠΙ<sup>10</sup> ΝΛ4÷  
 ΝΕΜΠΕCΙΩΤ ΝΛΓΛΘΟC÷  
 ΝΕΜΠΙΠΝΑ ΕΘΥ<sup>11</sup>÷ ΙC.ΧΕΝ—  
 †ΝΟΥ ΝΕΜΩΛΕΝΕ2·|·

وايضاً دالصولوجيه<sup>13</sup> تقال في عيد الغطاس لجيد<sup>12</sup>

Φ† ΠΙΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗC÷ ΛCΙ Ε—  
 ΧΕΝ ΠΙΟΡΔΑΛΗC·|· †—

<sup>8</sup> ΠΝΑ = πνεῦμα.

<sup>9</sup> ΑΛ = ΑΛΛΕΛΟΥΙΑ.

<sup>10</sup> ΠΡΕΠΙ = πρέπειν.

<sup>11</sup> ΕΘΥ = ΕΘΟΥΑΒ.

<sup>12</sup> „Noch eine Hymne, die gesprochen wird an dem erhabenen Epiphaniensfeste.“

<sup>13</sup> Auch hier دكصولوجيه.



ΣΥΚΩΝ ΕΤΑΣΤΑΚΟ ÷ ΟΥ —

ΟΣ ΛΣΜΟΥ ΣΕΝΠΙΝΟΒΙ ÷

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? 9 ΑΙΣ ΜΒΕΡΙ ΝΚΕΣΟΠ ÷ 21 —

ΤΕΝ ΠΙΩΜΣ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΜΩΟΥ

ΟΥΟΣ ΑΧΛΩΣ ΝΤΑΦΕ Ν —

ΠΙΔΡΑΚΩΝ ÷ 21 ΧΕΝ ΝΙ —

ΜΩΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗΣ ÷

ΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΠΙΠΝΑ ΕΘΥ ÷ ΕΤΑΧΙ

ΕΠΕΣΗ† ΕΒΟΛ ΣΕΝ†ΦΕ ÷

ΧΕ ΣΩΤΕΜ ΕΤΣΜΗ ΝΤΕ

ΦΙΩΤ ÷ ΕΣΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΣ —

ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ÷

ΧΕ ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΑΩΗΡΙ ΠΑΜΕΝ —

ΡΙΤ ÷ ΕΤΑΨΥΧΗ †ΜΑ†

ΝΣΗΤ4 ÷ ΑΧΕΡ ΠΛΟΥΩΩ

ΣΩΤΕΜ ΝΣΩ4 ÷ ΧΕ Ν —

ΘΟ4 ΠΕ ΠΙΡΕΤΑΝΣΟ ÷

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ΗΣΑΗΣ ΠΙΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ÷

ΑΧΧΩ ΜΠΤΑΙΟ ΜΠΠ —

ΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ ÷ ΠΙΠΑΡΘ<sup>14</sup> ΕΘΥ

ΙΩΛ ÷ ΠΙΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΣ Ν —

ΤΕ ΠΧΣ ÷

ΣΜΑΡΩΟΥΤ Ω ΠΕΝΝΗΒ ΠΧΣ ÷

ΠΩΗΡΙ ΜΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ ÷

ΦΗ ΕΤΑΧΟΙ ΣΑΡΞ ΣΕΝ† —

<sup>14</sup> ΠΑΡΘ = παρθένος; diese Abkürzung ist an den zwei Stellen, an denen sie in unserem Texte vorkommt, so geschrieben, daß das Θ über dem Λ steht und der Abkürzungsstrich mit dem Querstrich des Θ zusammenfällt. Selbstverständlich ist ΠΙΠΑΡΘ adjektivisch gebraucht.

ΠΑΡΘ· ΟΥΟΞ ΛΥΘΙΩΜC  
 ΣΕΝ ΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗC·  
 ΘΕΛΗΛ ΜΦΡΗ· ΝΖΑΝΖΙ—  
 ΗΒ ÷ Ω ΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗC ΝΕΜ—  
 ΠΕΥΔΡΙΜΟC ÷ ΛΥΙ ΨΑΡΟΚ  
 ΝΧΕ ΠΙΖΙΗΒ ÷ ΦΗ ΕΤ—  
 ΩΛΙ ΜΦΝΟΒΙ ΜΠΙΚΟCΜΟC ÷  
 ΦΛΙ

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ΦΛΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΖΙΗΒ ΝΤΕ Φ· ÷  
 ΦΗ ΕΤΩΛΙ ΜΦΝΟΒΙ Μ—  
 ΠΙΚΟCΜΟC ÷ ΦΗ ΕΤΛΥΙ—  
 ΝΙ ΝΟΥΤΑΠΝΩ· ÷ ΕΘΡΕΥ—  
 ΝΟΖΕΜ ΜΠΕΥΛΑΟC·  
 ΑΜΩΙΝΙ ΝΝΙΛΑΟC ΤΗΡΟΥ ÷  
 ΝΙΟΥΡΩΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΚΑΖΙ·  
 ΝΙΜΕΤΜΑΤΟΙ ΝΤΕ ΝΙ—  
 ΦΗΟΥΙ ÷ ΕΝ ΖΩC ΕΡΟΥ ΣΕ?  
 ΟΥΜΕΤΑΤΜΟΥΝΚ·  
 ΕΥΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC  
 ΧΕ ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ÷ ΑΓΙΟC  
 ΝΚΥΡΙΟC ÷ ΦΛΙ ΠΕ ΠΛΩΗΡΙ  
 ΠΑΜΕΝΡΙΤ·  
 ΣΕΝΝΑΙ ΤΕΝΡΑΨΙ ΤΕΝΕΡ—

Λ

ΨΑΛΙΝ ÷ ΝΕΜΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC  
 ΕΘΥ· ΣΕΝΟΥΘΕΛΗΛ ΕΝ—  
 ΧΩ ΜΜΟC· ΧΕ ΟΥΩΟΥ  
 ΣΕΝΝΗ ΕΤΘΟCΙ ΜΦ· ÷  
 ΝΕΜΟΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΖΙΧΕΝ ΠΙ—  
 ΚΑΖΙ ÷ ΝΕΜΟΥΤΜΑ· ΣΕΝ—

NIPOMI ÷ XE ΛΓ†MA†  
 ΓAP ÑZH† ÷ ÑXE ΦH È—  
 TEΦΩY NE ΠΩΟΥ ΩΛ—  
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 ᾠ ᾠ ÷ ᾠ ᾠ · ΠHC ΠXC  
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## REVIEWS

*Essai sur l'Histoire antique d'Abyssinie.* Par A. Kammerer. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926, pp. 196, pls. 45, maps 4. Fr. 60.

This essay confines itself to an account of the Kingdom of Aksum and its neighbours of Arabia and Meroe. The book is written in an easy style, more for the educated reader than for the specialist, although the latter will find much useful material, especially in the matter of the great inscriptions of Aksum which are here translated for the first time in French. For the earlier period much use is made of native inscriptions and classical authors. Of the former, the author has availed himself of the latest results of the archaeologist, making special use of the work of the French monk R. P. Azaïs. He also makes good use of the work of such men as Garstang, Sayce, and Reisner. Of course, the book was written primarily for French readers, who have not had the easy access to the results of research work done in Abyssinia which German, English, Italian, and even Portugese readers have had. The Abyssinia which the author discusses is, of course, much larger than what we now know as Abyssinia, for it includes what we now know as Nubia. The discussion takes us down to the time of the Hegira.

After a chapter on the sources, an account of the legendary period, including the legend of the Queen of Sheba, is given. A chapter on the Royal Chronicles follows, and then the primitive inhabitants are described. In chapter five the inscriptions of Cosmas are described, and then begins the history of early Abyssinia, including that of Meroe. A whole chapter is devoted to Ezana, the Constatine of Abyssinia, and one chapter is devoted to the introduction of Christianity into Abyssinia. The last chapter deals with the civilization of Abyssinia, where we miss a proper treatment of the Christian liturgy which played such an important part in the religious life of the people. After a brief summing up, the book closes with five appendices. The essay is exceedingly well done, well illustrated, and brings our knowledge of ancient Abys-



sinia up to date. A companion volume should follow, to tell the story of later and modern Abyssinia. No one could do it better than M. Kammerer, who has resided so long in Abyssinia, as representative of the French government.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

*Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar.* Von Carl Bezold. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1926, pp. 343. Gebunden M. 30.

It was known for many years that the late Professor Bezold of Heidelberg was planning an Assyrian Glossar. Indeed, his original plan was the building of an Assyrian lexicon. But this he discovered to be beyond the strength and time of any one man. For years he had collected his words and references on thousands of slips. At last he determined to publish merely a Glossar, and had the manuscript in its initial form when death overtook him, in November 1922. The work of completing the manuscript and preparing it for publication fell to Bezold's pupil, Albrecht Götze and to Mrs. Bezold, and it has been carried out with remarkable success.

Götze has written a brief preface in which he includes a list of the most frequently used books, as well as a partial list of the classes of texts which Bezold used. The Glossar itself covers 296 double-columned pages, to which is added a list of German words covering 46 three-columned pages. This German list was made by Mrs. Bezold.

In such a glossar as this completeness cannot be expected. And yet it is strange that in view of Götze's note in the preface that Bezold had used the El-Amarna-Tafeln there are numerous words in these same tablets not to be found in the Glossar, e.g. *Karru*, *Kiššu*, *namšaru*, *qadāšu*, &c., &c. These and many other words the student would look for in vain. I cannot quite understand the principle of selection followed by the author. Furthermore, of course, the work is merely a glossar, but some references would surely have been useful. However, the making of a complete Assyrian dictionary is quite beyond the powers of any one man, and we are thankful that the Oriental Department of the University of Chicago has organized a group of Assyriologists who are engaged in preparing a full and complete dictionary of the Assyrian

language. Nevertheless, students of Assyrian owe the late Professor Bezold, his widow, and Dr. Götze unlimited thanks for their efforts in placing at the disposal of Assyriologists this useful and handy list of Assyrian words. There are to be found in this Glossar the latest word on many disputed points of Assyrian lexicography. No student of Assyrian can be without this useful book.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

*Les premières civilisations.* By G. Fougères, G. Contenau, R. Grousset, P. Jouquet, J. Lesquier. Paris: Alcan, 1926, pp. 440.

The first part of this volume tells about Egypt until 1800, the Sumerians, Akkad, Babylon and the Egean world until 2000 B.C. The second book is on the indo-European migrations, the Hittites, Kassites, and Hyksos and the Egyptian Empire. The third part is on the new forces in the ancient world from the 11th to the 6th century, the Assyrian hegemony, the rise of Greece and the Iranian empire. It is quite evident that a volume of this size cannot have the fulness of the Cambridge Ancient History, but it is on the whole better balanced. It gives data that every student of the Near East should know. The authors do not aim at originality but they are well acquainted with all recent literature and the results of excavations. There are several good, clear maps. The chronological point of view is sane. The style is clear. There was no attempt either to pack or to pad. Indeed we know of no better introduction to the subject of ancient history.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

*Sennacherib's Invasion of Palestine.* By Leo L. Honor. New York: Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. 122. \$1.75.

This is a critical source study. Dr. Honor's dissertation is divided into three chapters each chapter being furnished with full critical notes. Chapter I contains the Assyrian source, chapter II the biblical account, and chapter III the account found in the Prophecies of Isaiah.

Dr. Honor's results are negative but valuable. He summarizes the different hypotheses as to Sennacherib's invasions of Palestine—there being five. First, that Sennacherib invaded Palestine only

once, the invasion being successful from beginning to end; second, that Sennacherib invaded Palestine only once, being successful only during the first part of the campaign, and during the latter part being visited by a plague; third, that Sennacherib invaded Palestine only once and was compelled because of disquieting rumors of unrest at home to return; fourthly, that there were two campaigns into Palestine, the first successful and the second a complete failure; fifthly, that there were two campaigns of Sennacherib into Palestine, the first being successful and the second ending abruptly; and sixthly, that there were two campaigns, one in 701 and the other during the latter part of his reign, the first being partly successful, and the second being a complete failure. The author proves conclusively that none of these hypotheses can lay claim to great credence but thinks that, in our present state of knowledge, it is impossible to come to any definite conclusions in regard to the reconstruction of the events under consideration. The result of his study, although negative, is most satisfying in that, having all material before us, we must await other facts before any definite conclusion can be arrived at.

The work has been excellently done, and all students of the Old Testament will be grateful to Dr. Honor for this excellent piece of critical work. It may be mentioned that the author adds a splendid bibliography.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

*Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.* Im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien herausgegeben von Adolf Erman und Hermann Grapow. Zweite Lieferung (Schluß des ersten Bandes). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1926, pp. XVI, 241-583. M. 24. Einbanddecke, Bd. I, M. 2.50.

The first part of this great work was reviewed in the October number (1926) of this *Journal*. Now we have the second part, and little remains to be said. Nevertheless, we desire to emphasise the importance of this epoch-making book in the development of the science of Egyptology.

To this part a fuller introduction is added wherein Erman and Grapow give a list of those who have taken part in the preparation of the work, and make further comments upon the way in which the work is to be used. They also show the limitations of the

Wörterbuch. Four pages are devoted to a series of directions for the reader and a list of abbreviations in the text.

This part of the great Wörterbuch continues where the first part left off, in the midst of the word 'd3 and continues down to and including the word *fdk*. A few test references reveal the same accuracy which characterized part one. The references of this and succeeding parts will appear all together at the end of the completed Wörterbuch. We rejoice in the continuation of the publication of this great and indispensable work. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

*The Tomb of Huy.* By N. de Garis Davies and A. H. Gardiner. London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1926, pp. 42, pls. XL.

The fourth Memoir of "The Theban Tombs Series" has now appeared. The text is by Dr. Gardiner and the drawing by Mrs. de Garis Davies. The Memoir deals with *The Tomb of Huy*. Now Huy was Viceroy of Nubia in the reign of Tutankhamon. The book will, therefore, have an interest not only for the specialist for whom, of course, it is written, but also for the more general reader because of the popularity of Tutankhamon.

The location of Huy's tomb was on the eastern slope of the hill known as Kurnet Murai some distance north of Medinet Habu. Besides Huy, the only really eminent personage known to have been buried at this place was Mermose, Viceroy of Nubia, under Amenophis III. The owner of this tomb has supplied us with much information not only of the young king Tutankhamon, but also about his own career as a high official of the State.

The second chapter of the book gives an account of Huy's appointment as Viceroy of Nubia, with translations of the text. There are innumerable interesting philological and religious notes throughout the chapter. It is interesting to note that Dr. Gardiner says that the term *bai* usually referred to as "soul" by Egyptologists would better be translated "external manifestation" or "visible manifestation." The same paragraph contains interesting facts on other technical Egyptian terms.

The great value of this work, of course, lies primarily in its forty plates containing texts and views on the wall of the tomb. Several of these plates are reproduced in colour. The book is excellently illustrated and will take its place as a standard work on this interesting Egyptian tomb. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER



*Imhotep.* By J. B. Hurry. London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1926, pp. 118. 7/6.

Imhotep was the vizier and physician of King Zoser and afterwards became God of Medicine. This figure in Egyptian history has always stood out with particular definiteness. It is a pleasure to see that a competent physician with the aid of sound technical advice, has given his attention to the study of this interesting personality. Dr. Hurry has made the ancient wise man live anew, and in the pages of this book we are not only reminded of the progress which ancient Egypt had made in diagnosis and in therapeutics and in the systematic dissection of the human body but the author has also summarized for us what the Egyptians knew about medicine and its practice and uses of years ago.

The author discloses Imhotep not only as physician but also as vizier, architect, priest, astronomer and scribe of the time of King Zoser and also as medicine Demi-God and as God of Medicine among the ancient Egyptians. Chapter V is one of the most interesting in the book. It contains a brief résumé of Egyptian medicine. Five appendices are full of interesting and instructive material. The book is informing and withal most reliable."

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

*Scientific criticism as applied to the Bible.* By George B. Michell. Reprint from the Transactions of the Victoria Institute, pp. 22.

*The historical Truth of the Bible, Part I, The Chronology.* By George B. Michell. Cairo: Nile Mission Press, 1926, pp. 47.

Mr. Michell belongs to the British Consular Service and is a Bible student. He is convinced that the majority of Old Testament scholars of any repute are "artful dodgers." Mr. Michell tells us that Old Testament codices were copied in various countries from Media, Elam, and Babylon to Elephantine and Thebes in Upper Egypt (p. 5). The reviewer is quite anxious to hear of these codices from Elephantine. Mr. Michell expects much from the study of the documents preserved by the Falashas. He tells us that the comparative philology of Semitic language needs to be studied and also the cuneiform documents. It seems that Mr. Michell knows but little about the field of Semitic studies, but he claims that such a knowledge is rather a handicap.

The chronology of the Bible is an interesting piece of work, rather dangerous we think for the point of view of conservatism at all costs, because the author admits an Egyptian pre-dynastic period when Seth was not yet in the forties. The Exodus is dated 1499 at the accession of Amenhotep II. The author does not give us on p. 38 the sequence of kings according to the book of Daniel. So it is therefore evident that his interest in apologetic has not warped his openmindedness in chronological matters. Indeed he gives not only the early dates according to the Hebrew text of Genesis, but also according to the Greek and Samaritan texts. Such a book is therefore of value.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

*Arabic Literature, an introduction.* By H. A. R. Gibb. London: Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. 128.

This is the best short introduction to Arabic Literature. It is remarkably complete for its size, and well proportioned. The field is so tremendously rich that one can easily lose oneself in a wealth of encyclopaedic details. Mr. Gibb avoids this danger. He avoids also the very human tendency to overemphasize one's particular views and interests in a certain aspect of the field. We like his characterization of the Semitic tenses as "aspects." The author gives well chosen quotations. There is an accurate bibliography, a subject index and an index of proper names and titles. Mr. Gibb's English style is excellent. This manuscript was seen by Professor Sir Thomas Arnold. That in itself is sufficient to make it a safe guide.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

*Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes. Tome II, Contes sur les femmes et l'amour. Contes divers.* By R. Basset. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1926, pp. 503.

This collection of ninety-three stories about women and of one hundred and ninety-two miscellaneous stories comes as the second volume of the Anthology of Arabic folklore made by the late dean of the Faculty of Letters of Algiers. It will be the vade-mecum of every folklorist and orientalist. The bibliographical notes are exhaustive as Dean Basset's always were. Several of these stories had been hitherto untranslated into any European languages. Many of these were not easily accessible.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

*Publications of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. Vol. I, Part. III, of Studies issued by the Institute for the Research in the Science of Judaism. Jerusalem 5686-1926.*

The collection of studies issued recently by the Institute for research in the science of Judaism affiliated with the Hebrew University, forms a worthy companion to the other two similar collections issued on previous occasions by the same institute. Like in the preceding parts, the studies contained in part III cover investigations in almost every branch of the science of Judaism, Bible, Talmudics, Jewish History, Law and Literature, Philology and Liturgy. And although the greater part of the essays are inaugural lectures delivered by the professors and the instructors of the institute, they bear all the marks of carefully elaborated investigations in the various fields with which they deal.

While a large part of the articles in the collection are mainly of a technical nature and of interest only to specialists in Talmudics, Jewish law, Rabbinical responsa, a number are of general interest to every Semitic scholar, and student of religious development in general. Of such nature are the two articles by Dr. Moses Zebi Segal, "The Development of Mishnaic Hebrew," and "The Use of the Diminutive in Hebrew." Two articles by Dr. Sholom "On the Authorship of the *Zohar*," and "Belar, the King of the Demons"; "A general comparison between the spirit of Hebrew Civil Law and that of the Roman" by Dr. Gulak; "A difficult passage in the Septuagint to Ruth, 4, 1" by Dr. M. Schwabe, and "Wars I, I as a historical source" by Dr. Abigdor Zirikower.

In his first article Dr. Segal advocates a novel point of view regarding the development of Mishnaic Hebrew. According to him, it is not an artificial jargon created with an expressed purpose by the *Tannaim* from a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic elements. This opinion held by Geiger and followed by a number of Jewish and Christian scholars is completely refuted by the author. He proves by numerous examples, both from the stock of words and the phonology of Mishnaic Hebrew, that it represents a normal development of the spoken Hebrew which being a popular and a vernacular dialect differed to a great extent from the literary Hebrew, as embodied in the Old Testament writings. It is mainly due to that cause that we find in the Mishnaic Hebrew quite a large

number of words which are absent in the Old Testament. The number of words for daily use greatly exceeded the one needed for high literature which though exalted is yet limited in scope. This also explains the change in word structure and grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew, as all such change can be traced to the use of Hebrew in the mouth of the people who were not purists like the writers of the Old Testament. It is true that Aramaic exerted quite an influence on Mishnaic Hebrew, but not to that extent as to make it the principal element in Mishnaic language besides Hebrew. Dr. Segal points out that of the three hundred new verbs found in the Mishnah, which are not found in the Old Testament, only thirty are directly borrowed from the Aramaic. The rest are common both in the Aramaic and in other Semitic languages, or their use is such which makes the Aramaic origin doubtful.

His second article on the use of the diminutive in Hebrew is of significant importance. Dr. Segal proves that the use of the diminutive in Hebrew was in olden times very extensive, much more than it is usually allowed by the grammarians. The adopted view is that the diminutive is usually denoted by doubling the second and third letters of the root, and the classical examples are *Yerakrak*, *Adamdam*, (Lev. 13, 44) which mean greenish and reddish from *Yarok* and *Adom* green, red. Our author believes that there were a few other ways used to signify the diminutive such as (1) change in the vowel, namely lengthening it like in the Arabic or shortening it. Two examples cited by him are especially plausible: *Leviva* (2 S. 13, 7) which denotes a certain cake, according to him it is a diminutive from *Levan*, i.e. a cake in the shape of a heart; *Netifa* (Judges 8, 26, Is. 3, 15) is a diminutive from *Netef*, a drop, i.e. a pearl in the form of a small drop of water. (2) Diminutives formed by adding a letter such as *Yod*, e.g. *Haggai* from *Hagiah*, or a Lamed, e.g. *Givol* (Ex. 9, 31), a stalk, from *Govia*, a cup, namely, the stalk being formed in the shape of a small cup. Other endings are *Am*, *An*, *On* as *Ishon*, *Manikin* from *Ish*, man; *Ḥaman*, singular from *Ḥamanim* (Isa. 27, 9) signifying small sun images from *Ḥamah*, Sun. Likewise, our author believes that the endings *Ith*, *Eth* usually signifying the feminine gender come in certain cases only to denote the diminutive.

His explanation of *Ḥaman* is, however, very doubtful as *Ḥaman* may mean the appellation or title of a certain kind of baal (see



Gesenius' Dictionary, article Haman). (3) The third form of diminutive is the adopted one by doubling the letter of the root, and Dr. Segal points to a wide use of this form, especially in nouns. He believes that Asafsuf (Num. 2, 4), namely, a mob, is a diminutive use, where the diminution applies not to quantity but to quality, i.e. a low natured mob.

Dr. Sholom in his article discusses the question whether the *Zohar*, the chief Cabbalistic work, was written by Rabbi Moses De Leon (13th century), the one who claimed to have discovered it as a relic of the work of R. Simon ben Yochai, a Tannaite of the second century, or that it is really the work of ancient mystics. The accepted view is, that the attributed authorship of rabbi Simon is an imposture invented by the discoverer De Leon to give his own compilation more authority. This view was supported by the testimony of a contemporary of De Leon, R. Isaac of Acco (Acre), quoted in the historical chronicle Yuchasin by Abraham Zacuto (end of 14th century), who tells in the name of a certain R. David of Pancorbo (a town in Spain) that after the death of De Leon, his wife swore that her husband never had any original copy of the *Zohar*, but that whatever he published under that name, was of his own composition, and the authorship of Simon ben Yochai was only an invented device. Dr. Sholom questions the authenticity of this testimony and by a number of proofs invalidates; it among others the following deserve notice: (1) De Leon quotes in his own books a large number of citations which are found in the *Zohar*, and those passages which are unintelligible to us at present were also unintelligible to De Leon himself, which could not possibly have been the case were he to have written the *Zohar*. (2) We find that quite a number of passages found in the *Zohar* were quoted by Cabbalists preceding De Leon, all of which goes to prove that the adopted theory of ascribing the *Zohar* to De Leon himself is without foundation. We will have to assume that the *Zohar* is after all older than the 13th century and is more ancient in origin, nor is it an imposture, though it is hardly possible to believe that Simon ben Yochai is its author.

The other article of Dr. Sholom forms an interesting study in Demonology, Jewish, Christian and Arabic. It deals especially with the metamorphisms assumed by Βελίαρ, the name given to Satan in Apocalyptic books as well as in early Christian literature, in

Arabic, Syriac, and Cabbalistic literature. In the course of his wanderings, Beliar assumed different names and positions, Bilad, Bilud, Bilet (in the Wagners-Buch), &c. He was also transferred from the position of Satan to that of one of the Lieutenants of *Ashmedai*, King of Demons, and at times even his successor. In the course of his article, Dr. Sholom relates of a certain belief current and persistent in Cabbalistic literature that *Ashmedai* died, and was succeeded by *Hanad*, and he in turn by *Blad*. This belief is based on the saying found in the Talmud (Hagiga 16 a) that the demons are mortal. The rest of the article is devoted to a discussion of the influence of Arabic and Christian magic writings on Jewish ones. The several appendices contain various incantations found in Jewish magical books.

Mr. Gulak, an authority of note on Jewish law, discusses in his article the fundamental principles underlying the two civil law systems of Rome and Israel. He finds that the Roman system is based on a subjective principle, namely, that of the will of the individual, while the Jewish one is governed by an objective principle of justice. He proves his contentions by numerous citations. Dr. Schwab calls attention to a difficult passage in the Septuagint to Ruth, 4, 1, where the words *Ploni Almoni* are translated by the words  $\omega\delta\epsilon\chi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon$ , while in other places the words are merely transliterated such as in (1 Sam, 21, 32; 2 Kings, 6, 8) Schwab, quoting A. Rahlfs in his "Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth," points out that the translator of the Septuagint text in the Hexapla into Syriac, Paulus Metala renders the word, *Krobi*, i.e. relative which would make us believe that a similar word was in his Greek text, which in turn would suggest that the word  $\text{Κρ}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon$  is probably a corruption of *Krobi*, that might have been the original word in the Hebrew text and the Septuagint translators have only transcribed it. He does, however, not accept their suggestion definitely. Septuagint scholars may find interest in his suggestion.

Dr. Zirikower examines the passage in Wars, 1, 1, 1, and compares it with other sources, especially with Antiqu. 12, 5, 9, and comes to the conclusion that it is rather unimportant and contains a number of errors. This is quite contrary to the opinion of a number of Christian and Jewish scholars who consider the passage of great authenticity. The collection also contains two studies by Dr. Klausner in the history of Modern Hebrew Literature, by

Dr. Yellin on the Ben Kohelit, a parody on Ecclesiastes, by Samuel Ibn Nagrila (11th century Hebrew poet), an article on the Jewish Mediaeval Liturgical poetry by Prof. Davidson, and a commentary on Order Zeraim of the Mishna by Rabbi Elijah, the son of Moses (13th century) from London, England, edited by Professor Epstein.

MEYER WAXMAN

*The Worship of Nature.* By Sir James George Frazer. New York: Macmillan, 1926, Vol. I, pp. 672. \$4.00.

This book is written in the manner well known to those who are acquainted with Frazer's works. After an introduction, in which general questions especially of early religions are discussed and many keen observations made, for example, "the innumerable multitude of spirits or demons was generalized and reduced to a comparatively small number of deities; animism was replaced by polytheism," he devotes his next section, chapters two to five to a study of the worship of the sky. Of all the phenomena of nature the most universal is perhaps the sky, so we find the sky worshipped among the Hindus, Iranians, Greeks, Romans, Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Chinese, Koreans, and various African peoples, but its worship never became popular or practical. Here as in other sections of this book Frazer used the question-begging word "trinity" in reference to such triads as Anu, Bel (better Enlil), Ea. However, Frazer's information is usually reliable, except in a very few instances, for example, where he says, without realizing what Thompson has shown to the contrary, that "in the earliest period ... the city (Eridu) must have stood on the shore of the Persian Gulf."

In chapters six to eleven the worship of the earth is described, using the same sources as before, and in chapters twelve to the end the worship of the sun is described. One might have expected a treatment of the worship of the abyss or water in this volume, for in this way the great triads could have been dealt with.

The work is reliable and well written. Its real value, however, lies not in any originality which it may contain—for this is very limited—but in the great mass of examples and illustrations culled from numerous sources.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

*The Light of the Ages.* By M. S. Jackson. Boston: The Zion Research Foundation, 1925, pp. 499. \$2.50.

From the standpoint of literature and of a sympathetic insight into the subject under consideration, Miss Jackson has written a fascinating book on the advance of spiritual ideas culminating in the teachings of Christian Science. Miss Jackson has collected together a series of extracts from the writings of the great fathers and teachers of the Church, and has compared their religious and spiritual contents with some of the contents of "Science and Health." This has been done in a charming manner. But from the standpoint of science and of the scientific study of the history of religion, the book before us is worthless. A similar comparison could easily be instituted between the "Book of the Dead" and "Science and Health" or between the literature of any other religious people and "Science and Health" with similar results. S. A. B. M.

*This believing world.* By Lewis Browne. New York: Macmillan, 1926, pp. 347.

We are sure that this book will be a library success in its way. We recommend its reading to the specialist in history of religion who cannot be led astray but likes to read an interesting book exceedingly well written with vivid diagrams and illustrations and also with inaccuracies in every chapter. As an instance, we find on p. 228 that the Hebrews built the pyramids. We hope that there will be a second edition, on corrected plates, and we are sure that it will be then a book above par.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

*The Secret of Ana'l Haqq by Khaja Khan.* Madras: Hogarth Press, 1926, pp. xxxii + 238.

A translation of a Persian work, Irshadaat-i-Shaykh Ibrahim, probably written in the 15th century. The author of the original was a Shuttari Sufi living in Central India. The book contains some three hundred sayings of Shaykh Ibrahim Gazur-i-Ilahi. The thought is Sufi, finding its classic expression in the saying "Ana'l Haqq", I am the Truth. Shaykh Ibrahim was a good Moslem but was not immune to the influence of Brahmanic Pantheism, particularly of the school of Sankaracharya. Like all Sufi writings



the book has many points of similarity with Gnosticism, not the least in this case being the attempt to chart the various stages in the progress of spirit from the infinite to the finite and back again.

D. A. MCGREGOR

*Further Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. I.* By Lord Chalmers. London: Humphrey Milford, 1925, pp. 371.

A translation from the Pali of the first part of the Majjhima Nikaya or longer suttas of the Buddha's teaching. It carries on the work begun in 1899 by Prof. Rhys Davids in his "Dialogues of the Buddha." When completed in the promised second volume it will include the 152 chapters of the Digha and Majjhima Nikayas which Lord Chalmers believes to be one book. Students of the philosophy and psychology of Buddhism will be grateful for this careful and accurate translation of the Pali text. The more popular type of reader will appreciate the introductory essay which describes the theological environment of Gotoma's day. Lord Chalmers has been very economical of his explanatory notes, only appending a few which are necessary to clarify confusing expressions.

D. A. MCGREGOR

*The Rise of the Imams of Sanaa.* By A. S. Tritton. London: Humphrey Milford, 1925, pp. 141.

A record of an obscure period in Arabian history, the rebellion of the province of Sanaa against the Turkish rule in 1006 A.H. The book is founded on documents contemporary or almost so with the events described. The principal sources are an untitled work in the library of the University of Edinburgh written previous to 1071 A.H. probably by Sayyid Ahmed ibn Muhammad who acted for some time as secretary to the Imam Qasim the leader of the revolt. A chronicle of stirring events in a vigorous struggle for Arab freedom.

D. A. MCGREGOR

*Une Relation de la huitième Campagne de Sargon.* Par F. Thureau-Dangin. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1912, pp. 87, pls. 22. Fr. 75.

This splendid work which was published fourteen years ago, deserves an additional notice, for, besides twenty-two plates and

very valuable text, the author has given us an excellent transliteration and translation of valuable inscriptions together with a full and detailed introduction which contains much fresh material.

S. A. B. M.

*Naukratis, a chapter in the history of the Hellenization of Egypt.*  
By E. Marion Smith. Vienna, Austria, 1926, pp. 97.

This dissertation for the degree of doctor of philosophy was published in this journal where readers could easily judge of its value as a complete study of the historical geography of this important Greek colony in Egypt. We hope that the author will continue her research in a field which she entered so brilliantly.

J. A. M.

## OBITUARY NOTICE

EDOUARD NAVILLE just died at the ripe old age of 82. He was a link between the old school of Egyptologists and the present. He kept to the end his love for scholarship and research. He was professeur extraordinaire d'égyptologie and professeur extraordinaire d'archéologie at the University of Geneva. He wrote many books and was a great philanthropist. He was a true Genevan Huguenot and held firmly to the form of faith of the conservative wing of the Reformed Church. One may have disagreed with him, but one had, even then to grant his honesty of purpose. We are all inclined to believe in our infallibility. NAVILLE's protest against the results commonly accepted by orientalists was therefore of the greatest value.

J. A. M.



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